# Daily Report

# East Europe

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## CEMA-EEC Relations Express 'New Thinking'

*AU221542 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Dec 87 p 4*

[Petur Gornenski article: "CEMA-EEC: Anachronism Is Receding"]

[Text] The importance of the real prospect to normalize relations between CEMA and the EEC in the next months exceeds by far the area of trade and economic cooperation. It is an expression of the new political thinking and outlines an especially important tendency—to increase mutual confidence and improve the general climate in the old continent.

This conclusion is based on the balance of the colloquium "Political and Judicial Framework of CEMA-EEC Trade Relations," which took place recently in the Belgian city of Ghent. At the colloquium Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary, and Willy de Clerq, member of the EEC Commission, stressed that the forthcoming signing of a general declaration on the principles of relations between the two organizations will make an important contribution to mutually beneficial trade-economic cooperation and to strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world.

This positive tendency reflects two parallel and mutually dependent processes. On the one hand, the colloquium in Ghent elevates the dialogue on expanding and improving relations between CEMA and the EEC and between their member countries, to a new level. In March 1987 in Hamburg the new prospects of CEMA-EEC member countries' relations were discussed. In April, Venice hosted a conference on cooperation between countries with market and plan policy in Europe. The interesting discussions and consultations which took place on those two occasions were united by the spirit of the increasing mutual interest as well as by the spirit of optimism that better conditions of activating businesslike cooperation between states with different social systems are being created in Europe.

On the other hand Vyacheslav Sychev's visit to the EEC Commission and his conversation with Willy de Clerq are indicative of the successfully continuing preparation of the two organizations' joint declaration, a result of which will be the establishment of official relations between them.

The meetings of experts, which took place in Geneva in September 1986 and March 1987 had an exceptionally important role after the interruption of the 1980 talks on mutual recognition on the part of CEMA and the EEC. The unnatural situation, in which the two largest economic groups seemingly did not exist for each other, while the realities required precisely the opposite attitude, was overcome as a result of the 1985 CEMA initiative.

What are the preconditions which directed CEMA-EEC relations toward the present favorable prospect? First of all, this is the coordinated course of the CEMA member countries, which aims at equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between states with different socioeconomic systems. The interest of the CEMA member countries was specifically expressed by their striving to expand economic and scientific-technical cooperation, effectively combine their scientific and industrial potential with the production-marketing possibilities of the West European countries, create joint enterprises, and develop activities in third markets.

As far as the interest of the EEC countries to establish as soon as possible official relations between CEMA and the EEC is concerned, it must be understood that this interest is directly related to the real economic situation in Western Europe. According to the opinion of experts, the commissions of the socialist countries would guarantee employment to 2 million workers, something which undoubtedly will curb unemployment in the EEC. In addition, without the commissions of the East European countries for certain articles, such as steel pipes and sets of equipment for the chemical industry, the issue of the very existence of these items in the market will emerge.

There is no doubt that the normalization of CEMA-EEC relations will eliminate an anachronism in Europe, something which is in the interest of broader economic cooperation and strengthening mutual confidence.

## Government Approves 1988 Economic Laws

*AU221813 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Dec 87 pp 1,6*

[Unattributed report: "A High Sense of Responsibility under the New Working Conditions"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] **At its session held yesterday [18 December], with the participation of the chairmen of the executive committees of the provisional oblast people's councils, chairmen of the associations, and other responsible economic leaders, the Council of Ministers discussed and approved a package of documents relating to fundamental issues of the further development of self-management: the Code on Economic Activity, Code on Self-Management of the Territorial Communities, the Order on Prices, the Order on Interrelationships in the Investment Process, the Turnover Tax Tariff, Excise Duties Tariff, and Unearned Income Tax [renten danuk] Tariff. In addition, the Council of Ministers approved a Decree on the Procedure for the Hand Over of Socialist Property to the Labor Collectives for Management and Administration and a Decree on Ensuring Fulfillment of the Uniform State Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical, and Socioeconomic Development in 1988 and of the 1988 State Budget for Bulgaria.**

The adopted documents are of a fundamental nature and create conditions for expanding and deepening the self-management processes, for more effectively utilizing the objective economic laws, first and foremost the law on value and the commodity-money relationships connected with it. The system of new economic regulators conforms to a much fuller extent to the postulates and decisions of the July Plenum and the practical elaborations of the November Plenum of the BCP Central Committee. It creates organizational, legal, and economic preconditions for the national economy's transition to socialist self-management. The Code on Economic Activity guarantees the position of **the goods-producer enterprise as the basic economic organization, differentiated in the technological, legal, and social senses, through which the labor collective manages and administers the socialist property placed in its hands.** The rights and responsibilities of the leader of the enterprise are defined by regulation in a new manner, and the role and place of the trust as a uniform economic system of enterprises are defined. The code also regulates the new functions of the state organs under the conditions of self-management—relating to strategic planning and strategic leadership through a system of economic conditions, normative documents, and regulators. It reveals the role of the Ministry of the Economy and Planning as a uniform economic headquarters of the Government for conducting state policy and implementing the leadership, coordination, and control of economic activities.

The new system of economic regulators adopted further improves the tax and finance mechanism and precisely defines the method for forming funds, their types, and the interrelations of the enterprises both between themselves and between them and the banks.

**The Decree of the Council of Ministers on the Procedure for the Handover of Socialist Property to the Labor Collectives for Management and Administration** deserves special attention. The July and November 1987 Plenums of the BCP Central Committee elaborated the issues relating to the importance of uniform and indivisible socialist property as the heart of production relations, and defined specific postulates for the hand over of the functions of administering this property to the labor collectives, with the aim of making the objects of socialist property a material support and source for the development of the labor collectives and of ensuring that every member of the collective fulfills himself as a worker, creator, and consumer.

Before us lies a new, exceptionally responsible social practice, one that multiplies many-fold the obligations of both the labor collectives and the economic leaderships, because the hand over of socialist property must not and will not be merely an idle moment in the life of the collective. **The transmission of the objects of socialist property to the labor collectives will commence on 1 January 1988, and the date of its completion will depend on the preparedness of the labor collectives to take on the functions of management and administration.** It is evident that, in order to attain this state of preparedness, they will have to pass through important stages, and considerable preliminary work will have to be carried out: It is necessary to make a comprehensive critical analysis of the state of and prospects for development of production-economic activities; it is necessary to establish the state of the production funds, the inventory, buildings, and equipment; it is necessary to analyze the obligations of the enterprise toward the state and the banks, and to make appropriate proposals to the competent organs; it is necessary to define the objects that will have to be reallocated or scrapped according to the established procedure; and it is necessary to outline measures (a program) for renewing and modernizing production capacities and for improving the forms of production organization and management.

One of the decree's requirements deserves to be stated precisely: **"Labor collectives that create a good labor organization, order, and discipline in their enterprises, acquire the right of management and administration, which is a condition for introducing the new system of basic wages in 1988."** This postulate is so clear, so objective, and so necessary that it needs no comment. The only thing that we might add is that now everything depends on us!

For the great idea of this document forms a program for specific actions. The transformation of the labor collective into the manager of the uniform, indivisible socialist property should induce a radical change in our attitude toward this property and create real conditions for enriching this property and utilizing it much more effectively.

The Decree on Ensuring Fulfillment of the Uniform State Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical, and Socio-economic Development in 1988 and the 1988 State Budget for Bulgaria, by the realism of its approaches and the precision of its calculations, creates conditions for achieving the basic proportions and indices for the country's development, for mastering new products and product quality, for producing structure-determining and other basic products, and for developing the municipalities along the lines of territorial complexes. It specifies the state orders, foreign exchange receipts and foreign exchange expenditures, the amounts of raw and other materials, fuel, energy, and machinery being made available, and so on.

With the adoption of these documents the most important prerequisites are established for the normal functioning of the national economy under the conditions of self-management. However, we must understand something else—each and every one of us. Next year we will be travelling along untrodden paths, and we will encounter a new situation both in the organization of production and in its management. We will encounter attempts to justify the failures by objective factors, without assessing, or not wanting to assess, the fact that at the moment thousands of machines (valued at tens of millions of

leva) are standing idle, that the changeover to 2- and 3-shift working is taking place exceptionally slowly, and that we are losing millions as a result of spoiled, nonstandard, and faulty production that is made the subject of claims. Accordingly, we do have the reserves available.

The Council of Ministers instructs the economic councils of the trusts to immediately specify the state orders, limits, and other indices for the enterprises and to render aid to the labor collectives in finally drawing up the plans and ensuring their smooth implementation from the very first days of the new year.

**It is true that a clash with circumstances will occur, and this means that we have to alter the circumstances and change the cadres' approach to them—especially when the new economic regulators are in force. If we fail to do this, we run the risk of not achieving the goals that we have set for ourselves for next year and for the 5-year-plan period.**

## More on Economic Regulations

*AU221040 Sofia BTA in English*
*1852 GMT 22 Dec 87*

[Text] Sofia, December 22 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers approved regulations for economic activity. They were adopted by a government decree of December 18, 1987.

The regulations set out the basic rights, obligations and responsibilities of the enterprises, corporations, associations and other self-managing economic organizations and of the municipal and regional people's councils, boroughs and other state bodies in the implementation of economic activities as well as the principal rules for their implementation.

This important document and the normative acts adopted on its basis will be observed by all self-managing organizations— industrial, trading, agricultural, transport, cooperative, etc., carrying out economic activities. It points out explicitly that economic activity will be carried out on the basis of all forms of socialist ownership which will be provided equal economic conditions.

According to the regulations, self-managing economic organizations are the enterprises, the corporations, the farm workteams and the agro-industrial complexes, the associations, the cooperative organizations, the economic societies, etc., determined by the Council of Ministers and carrying out economic activities.

And what will the role of the state bodies be?

In line with their competence, they will carry out independently or jointly the state leadership in the separate spheres and activities of the national economy, proceeding from the aims and the trends of socioeconomic development envisaged in the state plan and through a system of economic conditions, norms and regulators.

The Ministry of Economy and Planning will draft the state plan in interaction and coordination with the other ministries, the executive committees and the people's councils, the banks, the self-managing economic organizations and the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

The document also reviews in detail the problems of price formation. The enterprises will form the wholesale prices of the goods and services on the basis of the real prices at which these goods and services are sold in the most representative way for Bulgaria's foreign markets. The concrete prices at which the goods and services will be offered in this country will be negotiated between the producers and the consumers. They cannot exceed the registered top prices. The prices of the basic goods and services for the population as well as of some means of production will be set by the Council of Ministers. It will also approve the list of goods and services the prices of which will be set by other state bodies.

The enterprises will form and distribute their incomes on the basis of the revenues from the realization of their output. They will pay into the state budget, respectively to the municipal people's councils, taxes and fees and set up funds. When forming the "wages" fund and in determining the individual labour remuneration they will have to observe a set of concrete requirements.

The document also settles the interrelations of the enterprises and corporations with the banks, their scientific research and technological activities as well as their investment, trading and supplying activities. It also elaborates on issues related to economic contracts.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 22 Dec 87, in a similar report on the adoption of the Code on Economic Activity, adds: "The Code on Economic Activity will be published in tomorrow's [23 December] issue of the paper IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT and in the 24 December issue of the State Gazette"]

## Economic Report for 8 Nov to 18 Dec

AU192014 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 8 November through 18 December carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of each newscast is given in parentheses):

Biotechnology and Chemical Industry Association: The association's Administrative Council reviewed the 11-month plan fulfillment results by the association's

plants; the production achieved, valued at approximately 7.5 billion leva, represented 93 percent of the planned production for the year, and included 98,000 tonnes of nonferrous metal products, 329 tonnes of resins, and 217 tonnes of artificial fibers and silk produced over and above the plan. The association's draft plan for 1988 provides for substantial expansion, including measures for more efficient production of mineral fertilizers, plant protection agents, and polymer materials for agriculture (1400 GMT 8 December). Burgas: The Iliya Boyadzhiev Shipyard handed over the eighth floating ferroconcrete work platform for the Soviet river and marine fleet; a further such platform and a "2000-tonne section" is due to be completed by the end of the year.

Maritsa-Iztok Trust: The trust's enterprises overfulfilled their 11-month production plan by over 1.6 million leva; as part of this success, the Dimo Dichev and Purva Komsomolska Thermoelectric Power Plants produced an extra 28 million kilowatt-hours of electricity (1000 GMT 2 December).

Pleven: A new automatic telephone exchange was brought into operation 6 months ahead of schedule to serve a residential district with 35,000 inhabitants (1000 GMT 2 December).

**Automatic International Phone Exchange Opens**
*AU231424 Sofia Domestic Service*
*in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Excerpts] An automatic international telephone exchange was opened 1 hour ago in Sofia. It makes it possible for us to obtain automatic call connections with Europe, North America, and the Middle East, and also to increase the international transit connections via Bulgaria. Here is a brief technical description.

The exchange operates on the electronic switching principle, is able to handle incoming, outgoing, and transit international traffic, and permits automatic dialling to the national telephone networks of 46 states. It is capable of handling 350,000 calls per hour, to a very high standard of quality, and can also make connections via space satellites and the so-called "super-category connections," which are implemented for the broadcasting of great political, cultural, and sports events.

The exchange was opened by Atanas Popov, chairman of the Communications Association, who prior to the opening had a meeting with Bulgarian and foreign journalists on the problems of introducing scientific and technical achievements and of developing our national communications system next year.

**Editorial on 17-18 Dec Presidium Session**
*AU240821 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Dec 87 p 1*

[Editorial: "Far-Reaching National Program"]

[Text] At its seventh session held on 17-18 December, the CPCZ Central Committee discussed important issues concerning our entire society. It responsibly assessed the progress made in the implementation of the program of the 17th Congress, which calls for the acceleration of our country's social and economic development, discussed the progress of work on the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism and topical issues concerning the further development of socialist democracy.

In its resolutions, the CPCZ Central Committee is issuing an important directive for profound social changes, whose initiator is the Communist Party, which is at the head of this endeavor and which is and will be the guarantee that the course of the process of the necessary changes will be in harmony with the interests of the people and socialism.

The sessions were marked by a productive atmosphere, openness, and criticalness. The Central Committee's unanimous determination to do everything necessary for the consistent fulfillment of the program of the 17th Congress was distinctly manifested.

Also the election of the new general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee was on the agenda of the seventh session. This is an important issue for any party. As is known, Comrade Gustav Husak, who headed the party since April 1969 and who will be 75 next January, asked the Central Committee to be released from the function of general secretary. The Central Committee complied with his request. At the same time, and with justification, it stressed that Czechoslovak Communists and all our people highly appreciate and value the work done by Comrade Gustav Husak as our party's general secretary. It sincerely thanked Comrade Husak for his many years of creative and fruitful activity at the head of the party and expressed the conviction that, with his wealth of experience, he will continue as president and member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium taking an active part in the solution of tasks connected with the further development of socialism in our fatherland.

At the proposal of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium submitted by Comrade Gustav Husak, the Central Committee unanimously elected Comrade Milos Jakes as the new general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Following his election, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed the principle of continuity of the strategic line worked out by the 17th party congress. He said:

"In moments like these, many people in the party, in our public, and abroad could ask whether the change in the general secretary might not also mean a change of the policy to date. The answer is clear. The program of the 17th congress—the strategy of the acceleration of the social and economic development, and the restructuring and democratization of our socialist society—remains the binding directive for our work."

The continuity of the party's political line is clearly expressed, above all, in the resolution of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session on comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism, which will introduce a fundamental change in the manner of the national economy's management and planning. The party proceeds from the position that not everything has been bad in the system of management to date, and that not everything has to be repudiated. However, what is involved now is improving and streamlining the central management, expanding the opportunity for the working people to participate in management, increasing the independence of enterprises, and their powers and responsibility for the results of their work while implementing the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing. In this effort we will be frequently taking unexplored paths. In this respect the adopted document is regarded as open-ended, it will be fine-tuned in accordance with the latest findings. Not everything in life will develop in accordance with today's notions. There also exist certain risks. At the seventh session the conviction was expressed that we have embarked on the correct path, that the party's principled course will meet with the understanding and support of the workers class and all working people.

The economic reform, which we began verifying in 1987 with a number of experiments, is an integral part of the overall restructuring of social relations. It is the expression of the deepening of socialist democracy and a necessary prerequisite for the realization of the strategic line of the acceleration of the social and economic life of our society by means of intensification. Precisely this restructuring, perceived as two-aims-in-one, is objectively necessary and irreversible. It is necessary to fight consistently and uncompromisingly for its realization.

The process of social changes proceeds from the fundamental, generally valid principles of socialism, social ownership of the means of production, a planned economy, remuneration according to the results of work and from the leading role of the workers' class and its vanguard—the Communist Party. All these are principles which right-wing opportunists and revisionists tried to disparage and cast doubt on in 1968. We do not doubt that also today our class adversaries would like to see the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the entire social life result in a retreat from the fundamental principles of socialism. Such wishes are absolutely futile.

The Central Committee purposefully connected the preparations for the economic reform with the fulfillment of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It expressed

appreciation for all positive trends in our economic development, but at the same time it sharply criticized the continuing shortcomings. There is only one way to overcome them—by a consistent assertion of intensification and by thriftiness. It is necessary to correctly orient the people's initiative toward this, improve order and discipline, make full use of work time, improve the organization of work, and strengthen personal responsibility. The party's political, ideological, organizational, and cadre work must also be oriented toward this.

The socialist system has the innermost inexhaustible resources for its development in the creative energy, wisdom, and experience of the people, in the free work and thinking of the working man, in the deepening of socialist democracy, and in the development of the self-managing bodies of work collectives. The Central Committee rightly sees in this the fundamental prerequisite for the successful development of socialism in our country. More democracy means more socialism. This applies also to us.

In this we proceed from the political system of our society, whose basis is the National Front, which associates political parties and social and special-interest organizations. Already at its session last March the CPCZ Central Committee adopted a number of conclusions aimed at making fuller use of the existing forms which make up our political system, and at developing and verifying new elements of democracy. At the current December session it was able to note that when these conclusions are being implemented in practice public life revives, topical problems are put forward, and public discussions are being held on urgent issues of the day. In this connection it highly valued the activity of our citizens in the course of the public discussion on the drafts of three laws pertaining to the status of enterprises and cooperatives.

But, so far, these are only the first steps aimed at creating favorable conditions for civic activities and arousing the people's interest. It is up to the party agencies and communists in all sectors of our life to proceed in this respect more resolutely; we must learn to work under conditions of democracy. And this, above all, means that the political intentions of restructuring will be realized with all responsibility, that words will not be at variance with actions. An important role in this is played, in particular, by the policy of openness, the flow of information to the public at all levels, so that the vital sphere of social life comes under public scrutiny. The Central Committee affirmed that its interest and objective is for the National Front to play an even greater role than has been the case until now when it comes to developing the rich, active, and multifaceted life of society.

The current historic period, and the newness and the extent of the tasks, bring into the foreground with increasing urgency the need to fundamentally improve all party work. The everyday activity of party agencies and organizations should be based on extensive work with the people, and should be constantly oriented toward them. This is the core of the Leninist style of work. It means, above all, conducting an honest and open dialogue with fellow citizens on important issues and problems of the life of society. And not only talking to them, but with them, relying on their knowledge, responsibly taking their opinion into consideration, and actively resolving problems. This is the way to overcome the phenomena of reservation in party work and constantly strengthen the party's close ties with the broad strata of the working people.

The Central Committee also adopted a resolution on improving the cadre policy. It is a document which determines anew and in harmony with the current stage the tasks, principles, and criteria for the selection, training, and placement of cadres. It stresses that an important feature of cadre work is promoting, together with Communists, people without party affiliation and members of the other parties of the National Front to responsible posts.

The Central Committee expects that the conclusions of the seventh session will become a concern of the entire party, all agencies and organizations, and all communists, and that these conclusions will be implemented consistently and with every responsibility.

It expects that communists will without delay and with great responsibility, on the basis of local conditions, creatively incorporate the conclusions of the session in their plan of activity, that they will adopt concrete measures for the immediate future and step up their efforts regarding the solution of long-term plans. It is up to the annual members' meetings of the party's primary organizations and plenary meetings and party conferences to concretely and pragmatically discuss tasks concerning restructuring and democratization under local conditions, and determine the communists' comprehensive and unified course of action aimed at the practical implementation of them with the stress on the fulfillment of the tasks of the 1988 national economic plan. The entire party must proceed purposefully and in an organized manner, and in no quarter must we permit unnecessary delays, the marking of time, or hasty skipping of stages.

The seventh session revealed that our party has embarked upon the path of realistic, honest, and open policy. There is no doubt that this will further strengthen the unity of the communist party and its ties with the broad strata of the people. And thus the tried-and-tested Klement Gottwald slogan "Facing the Masses" will be asserted with new urgency under the new conditions.

## CPCZ Plenum Discussion, Part I

AU241056 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 December on page 5 and on 21 December on pages 3,4, and 5 publishes the first 15 accounts of statements made during the discussion at the Seventh

Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, held in Prague on 17-18 December. In addition to Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak SR, the speakers include the following members or candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee: Eleonora Hvizdosova, foreman from the 29 August footwear factory in Partizanske (1,200 words); Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council (2,?00 words); Miroslav Bauer, general director of the North Bohemia Brown Coal Mines (2,000 words); Miroslav Slavik, leading secretary of the South Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee (1,500 words); Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union (2,000 words); Jaroslav Tomasovic, maintenance worker in the Georgi Dimitrov chemical plant in Bratislava (1,000 words); Zdenek Hlozek, director of the Forming Technology Research-Production Organization in Brno (1,300 words); Vasil Pacuta, chairman of the CPSL enterprise committee in the East Slovak Iron Works in Kosice (1,600 words); Jaroslav Ondracek, foreman in the Jan Sverma coal mine in Zacler (1,400 words); Karel Urbanek, leading secretary of the Brno CPCZ City Committee (1,800 words); Jaroslav Hajek, chairman of the enterprise committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the Mlada Boleslav car factory (1,700 words); Josef Mevald, leading secretary of the West Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee (2,200 words); Josef Kral, tool maker in the Sigma plant in Hranice (1,700 words); and Jan Pirc, leading secretary of the East Slovakia CPSL Regional Committee (1,700 words).

Eleonora Hvizdosova reports on the application of the principles of the "comprehensive experiment" in her enterprise since the beginning of April 1987 and deplores that the experiment does not address the "constantly growing" problems in supplier-user relations and supplies of materials and technology. She also mentions the planned expansion of cooperation between her plant and Vietnam, where almost 7 million pairs of shoe uppers for the Partizanske plant should be sewn next year.

Miroslav Zavadil refers in his statement to workers' dissatisfaction with the failure to tackle the problems of their workplaces, which "generates impatience, mistrust, and often leads to passivity." He continues: "I do not want to exaggerate anything but the acerbity of views and dissatisfaction with the solution of specific problems are great.

"We have often heard people in the factories talking in terms of 'we and you' recently. We down here and you up there. This should make each of us think about his conduct and the style of his work. To be sincere, the occasionally acerbic formulations of the working people must prompt also us, communists charged with work in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, to seek ways of increasing our participation in the solution of specific conflicts that are coming to a head in some areas of our economy."

Speaking about social problems, Zavadil stresses the importance of "applying the principle of social justice, creating an appropriate working environment, and solving transportation and other problems that excite bitter feelings in people." The problem of transportation to work has reportedly reached such a scale that "it is becoming a grievous political problem in a number of places," which is why the trade union bodies have asked the Federal Government for a "vigorous solution."

Zavadil goes on to say: "I believe that the question of enhancing the working people's activity is not only one of good economic management, of the right economic incentives, but also one of a healthy social climate, a climate in which everyone must answer for his deeds, regardless of his functions and social standing. Regretably, many senior officials and also some trade union functionaries continue to be indulgent toward various negative phenomena. They are turning a blind eye to shortcomings, unlawful conduct, violation of discipline and order, and even pilferage and corruption, as if the Letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium did not apply to them.

"I am of the opinion that our adversaries cannot upset the trust of our working people as much as the inconsistent solution of some cases like that of Babinsky. There is much criticism of the growing number of those who have acquired great property by illicit means. It would be right and fair if state agencies had the legal right to demand that a citizen furnish proof of how he acquired property. It is also high time to take a closer look at illegal currency dealers [vekslaci] and other similar elements that also poison the social atmosphere."

Speaking about the role of trade unions in restructuring, Zavadil suggests that the planned amendment of the labor code codify better legal protection of trade union functionaries. Explaining this call, he says: "Unfortunately, there are still many cases of trade union functionaries being punished for the defense of the legitimate interests of the working people. Let me cite an example. Speaking in the discussion at a recent session of the Central Trade Union Council, Josef Hampl, hero of socialist labor, criticized shortcomings in the organization of labor and causes that prevent his team from fulfilling its socialist pledge. Instead of things being set right, the brigade of Comrade Hampl became the center of 'special attention' in the form of a number of controls and checks pursuing the aim of teaching Comrade Hampl and his team the lesson that it does not pay to criticize the economic management. We cannot condone such an approach."

Zavadil concludes his statement by saying: "In concluding I would like to draw attention to the validity and relevance of the 'Lessons' from the critical period in the party and society. The truth of the year 1968 will remain the truth. The year 1988 that we will soon enter will not be one of the 'fateful years ending with the figure eight,' as our enemies are blazoning forth. Our fate only

depends on the results of responsible, honest work, on the party's unity and ability to act, on our ability to creatively apply the experiences of the CPSU from restructuring, and on consistency in implementing the historic legacy of February 1948."

Miroslav Bauer's statement deals with the development of the North Bohemian brown coal basin. He says that because of the slow rate of reduction of the energy-intensiveness of the Czechoslovak economy, the basin has been "forced" to produce 5 million tonnes of coal more than planned in 1986-87. He also warns that "if the situation in the fuel-power balance continues to develop in this way," the basin will not be able to sustain coal production at the current level. He notes that the imminent depletion of the Most, Lezaky, and other mines will mean an annual drop in coal production of 10 million tonnes, while current investment activity provides for new mining capacities that will replace only about 50 percent of this amount. To encourage an economical use of fuels, Bauer suggests that "some pricing policy measures in the production sphere be contemplated."

Miroslav Slavik discusses problems of party work and economic development in South Bohemia this year. In this connection he warns that the scheduled completion of the Temelin nuclear power station is in jeopardy. The relevant passage reads: "In connection with the justified criticism of the large number of unfinished projects and the phasing out of inefficient investments, I am submitting for consideration the adherence to the planned construction of the Temelin nuclear power station. The quality of preparations there is good and it is an energy complex worth Kcs54 billion. There is a serious threat to the planned deliveries of electricity to the power grid before the end of the nineties."

Vasil Mohorita says that the Socialist Youth Union supports the efforts of the CPCZ to carry out restructuring because the negative phenomena in the life of socialism "breed young people's apathy toward what is going on around them and their inclination toward mediocrity, verging on passivity, in work, in study, or in involvement in public life." In this connection he also says: "We intend to participate far more resolutely in eliminating among young people a negative phenomenon that might be called 'the ideal of mediocrity.' A calm and conflict-free life and indifference to the interests of socialism are not only a drag on, but an outright enemy of the further development of socialism in our country. Young people see around them examples of often thriving mediocrity. And they not only see them, but learn from them. They then sometimes yield to the feeling of hopelessness and to the false notion that the youth union can hardly do something against this abuse. However, we know that here, too, we must start with ourselves, with the staff of the youth union apparatus."

Speaking about restructuring in the work of the Socialist Youth Union, Mohorita says that the main change will involve "doing things not for the young people, but with them." While acknowledging the importance of democratization in the organization, Mohorita insists that "democracy must be learned" and that it must not be confused with "criticism without regard for anything and anyone, disruption of the principles of the ideological and organizational structure of the youth union, and retreat from principles in an attempt to be popular with loudmouths."

Jaroslav Tomasovic and Vasil Pacuta deal in their statements with the problems of their respective enterprises and with their preparation for the new economic mechanism. Pacuta criticizes, inter alia, the decision of the general directorate of the Ferrous Metallurgy economic production unit to postpone the planned investments in engineering facilities in the East Slovak Iron Works to the 10th 5-year Plan. This postponement is all the more "annoying," he says, as the new engineering facilities were supposed to provide jobs for steel workers "who will be released from metallurgical production on the basis of the reconstruction and modernization of the metallurgical base."

Zdenek Hlozek expresses in his statement reservations about some changes planned under the new economic mechanism. He says: "There have been frequent changes in recent years in the economic rules governing the development of the national economy. In a number of cases these changes have not even been verified and, above all, their effect has not been evaluated.

"There is the same anxiety today, especially because the current economic model has not been fully evaluated and because the targets and contributions of the new model have not been sufficiently defined." Hlozek points out, for example, that "the norms proposed thus far do not guarantee the solution of supplier-user relations" and voices the fear that the free price fixing which they institute may have an inflationary effect. "It could also happen," he continues, that "some subdeliveries and products will not be available at all." To solve the problems in supplier-user relations, Hlozek suggests that designated state enterprises in the "crucial national economic sectors" should be obligated to provide a designated range of products.

Hlozek is also skeptical about the planned establishment of self-management agencies in enterprises. He says: "I would recommend that we assess once again the need for working people's councils in enterprises. When we consider that the entrepreneurial function of the council has been dropped [from the originally proposed version of the enterprise law] and when we take into account the standpoint of the Second Plenary Meeting of the Central Trade Union Council, which states in its second part that 'socialist self-management is enacted by means of the participation of the work collective and its social organizations, particularly the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, in the preparation and adoption of the most important decisions concerning the enterprise, in the implementation of these decisions, in the control of their

implementation, and in filling managerial posts,' then I am not convinced, and with me a great number of party members, that the councils are necessary.

"By dropping this intention we would strengthen the position of the enterprise director, who would otherwise have to deal with another body, the council, in addition to the CPCZ, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and other social organizations. Given the necessity to discuss many materials in all committees and self-management agencies, at meetings, aktivs, and rallies, the director would have no time left for management and socialist entrepreneurship. It is legitimate to assume that rather often the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the council will have different views on how to peg wages to the growth of profits and, above all, on how to distribute wages and profits, with the director having to run between the two as a result. The outcome will be more paperwork, eroded authority of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, or a token establishment and operation of the councils."

Although Hlozek claims to "support the planned changes," he also points out that "discipline in some enterprises and plants, both in the economic sphere and in the party, has started to become lax in connection with their preparation and with the discussion on them." He concedes that there should be greater democracy in the stage of preparation of the plan and in discussions on ways of implementing it, but insists that "there can be no democracy once the plan is adopted."

Jaroslav Ondracek voices in his statement impatience with the progress of restructuring. His is also the only of the 15 discussion statements published by RUDE PRAVO on 19 and 21 December containing a reference to the change in the CPCZ leadership. Ondracek opens his statement by saying: "The overwhelming majority of our working people are in favor of accelerating restructuring and deepening socialist democracy. However, they express the fear that few things will change, as in the past, because they see how the superior economic units defend before all and sundry, and with the help of trade union functionaries, the preservation of the existing system. We know that this suits many people fine, that they have grown used to an easy life, that they agree with restructuring verbally but, in reality, are doing everything conceivable to make sure that nothing changes. People say: Give us good material and give it to us on time and there will be no problems with plan fulfillment. There will be no unnecessary last-minute rush work and time to look after product quality.

"Yet supplier-user relations are getting worse year after year and to believe that the new enterprise law alone will set this right is an illusion. Voices are making themselves heard expressing the justified fear that—because the old mechanism is ending its life and the new one is not yet ready—this may bring a number of unexpected problems. People are impatient to see what will happen next.

"We realize that things must not be pushed forward with undue haste, but neither can we consent to restructuring becoming operative only 15 years from now, as one theorist said in a television discussion program, in which I took part. Or can we perhaps tell this to people and expect to win them over for new things? I realize that things do not come into being with ease, that we down below may see them differently from our perspective, but so long as we do not demonstrate to our people below at the workplaces that something has really started to change, they will not go with us and will wait to see how everything turns out because they have grown used to someone else solving things for them. They argue in talking to us that we have been striving for intensification for 25 years but that the required effect is still not forthcoming. They ask me as a member of the Central Committee where is the guarantee that we will succeed this time. They present so many forceful arguments that sometimes I am compelled to admit that they are right.

"I think that it is good that the functions of general secretary and president have been split. There will be more time to ensure political matters, and to translate them into life at greater speed and more competently. Changes in central agencies must inevitably follow. People down below, especially the young generation, are waiting for them. It is not, and will not be, a question of a rolling of heads, but one of necessary changes enforced by restructuring. The sooner this happens, the better for all of us."

In another part of his statement, Ondracek objects to the fact that his district—Trutnov in East Bohemia—is not among the beneficiaries of the "measures to stabilize manpower in the textile industry," which the CSSR Government adopted this September. He points out that 36 percent of the district's population work in the textile industry, which accounts for 47 percent of the district's industrial output, and that Trutnov should therefore qualify for the approved improvements.

Karel Urbanek discusses the application of cadre policy by the Brno city party organization. He notes, inter alia, that 2 years ago the Brno party leadership reduced the number of nomenklatura slots within its jurisdiction 20 percent. Urbanek deplores that this step has run up against opposition: "I must say that the gist of the problem has not been understood and many leading officials, acting out of personal and also prestige motives, are striving to get back to the cadre slate of the respective party agency, or even a level higher. Their superiors often intervene on their behalf."

Urban also notes other problems encountered by the Brno party leadership in its cadre policy. Its insistence that several candidates be proposed for each appointment, for example, reportedly results in "the proposed officials notifying us of various shortcomings of their competitors, using, deplorably, deliberately distorted information." The work with the "reserve pool of cadres" is also said to have its snags. According to Urbanek,

there are several reasons for this: "One of them is that once they reach pensionable age, some senior officials start to inform us about the cadre reserve which they themselves had been grooming for many years and to tell us about its shortcomings, mistakes, character traits, and so forth. And, conversely, the pre-selected comrades are often impatient and start notifying us of the mistakes of the officials holding the functions for which they are preparing themselves. The solution is thus gradually delayed." Urbanek views all these manifestations as bearing out the need to devote far greater attention to interpersonal relations and to establishing conditions for "comradely relations" and "constructive criticism and self-criticism."

In another part of his statement, Urbanek welcomes the new enterprise law because it should eliminate some of the blatant injustices of the current system. He points out, for example, that since 1979 the Zbrojovka plant in Brno remitted Kcs3.253 billion to the state budget and wrote off Kcs442 million in depreciated assets. However, over the same period it received from the state only slightly more than 50 percent of the value of its depreciated assets for modernization. The result is, according to Urbanek, that Zbrojovka's machine pool is 26 years old on average and that 90 percent of it is obsolete.

Jaroslav Hajek and Josef Kral deal in their statements with the discussion on the draft enterprise law in their enterprises and with the problems of their economy. Jaroslav Hajek also discusses the preparations of the Skoda car factory in Mlada Boleslav for the volume production of the new Skoda-Favorit passenger car. In this connection he takes exception to the fact that the planned construction of an unspecified "project for the social program" has been omitted from the car factory's investment plans "even though it represents only 0.5 percent of the total investment funds." This, he says, will "aggravate a long-term problem of our enterprise, the discrepancy between the development of the social sphere and the great demands on employees, especially those working on assembly lines." Hajek also mentions the "complicated situation in the production of spare parts" for the existing Skoda passenger car models, which persists "despite a decision not to assemble 10,000 vehicles and to use the spare capacity for the production of spares."

Josef Mevald and Jan Pirc discuss the economic development of their regions (West Bohemia and East Slovakia) and the efforts of the two regional party organizations to apply new approaches and methods.

**Agreement With U.S. on INF Inspection**
*LD231634 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1540 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Text] Berlin, 23 Dec (ADN)—The governments of the GDR and the United States have reached an agreement on the implementation of inspections on the territory of the GDR, which are provided within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier and U.S. Ambassador to the GDR Francis Joseph Meehan carried out an exchange of corresponding notes to this purpose today.

In his talk with the ambassador, Kurt Nier noted that with the conclusion of the 11 December trilateral agreement with the USSR and the CSSR and with the agreement with the United States, the GDR has created for its part important preconditions for a speedy realization of the medium-range missile treaty.

The agreement between the United States and the GDR grants U.S. inspectors and their escorting personnel the right to undertake the fulfillment of the stipulated verification [kontroll] tasks on GDR territory. The agreement between the GDR and the United States will come into force simultaneously with the Soviet—U.S. treaty.

**FDJ CC Resolution on 1988 Plan**
*AU240852 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec 87 p 1*

[Matthias Loke report: "Achievements for the Plan, for the Welfare of All of Us, and for Peace"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—The members of the socialist youth association will use all their power to meet the liabilities taken over in 1987 and for a good start in the new plan year. This was confirmed by the FDJ Central Council in its Seventh Conference in the weekend [19-20 December] in Berlin. Proceeding from the Fifth Session of the SED Central Committee, it discussed other tasks in the "11th SED Congress' Assignment for the FDJ" and passed a resolution on the FDJ's contribution to the 1988 national economic plan.

For 1988 the youth association plans to save 145 million hours of working time, to get 35,000 young working people to work in several shifts, to use 7,500 industrial robots, and to achieve a yield of 3M million in the "Material Economy" and "Energy Economy" campaigns. It is planned to refurbish and improve 22,000 apartments. With reference to the Masters of Tomorrow Movement all leaderships of the youth association are requested to struggle perseveringly and uncompromisingly, together with the FDJ collectives, for demanding tasks that lead to scientific-technological achievements. Youth research collectives should be assigned only those tasks for which, without compromises, the international standard is taken as a guideline.

Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, underlined in his closing speech that the struggle for peace, the unconditional commitment to a nuclear-free world, remains the focus of all efforts. Therefore the young generation of the GDR has greatly approved of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. The FDJ members have helped establish the basis for this treaty with their good work for a strong socialism.

Knowledge of the Power of Socialism and Research [subhead]

The first objective of the ideological work of the youth association is to develop a firm Marxist-Leninist class standpoint that helps them to steadfastly take sides with socialism and to take an active position to universally strengthen the socialist motherland, the speaker said.

In order to achieve the demanding targets of the coming plan year, a disciplined plan fulfillment and a purposeful zeal for research are just as necessary as a profound knowledge of the economic laws of socialism and the requirements of economic strategy. Whoever has really understood the performance principle of socialism, Eberhard Aurich said, will struggle with passion for punctual production of high numbers of planned tape recorders, youth fashionwear, and other consumer goods, too. [passage omitted]

## Cooperation Protocol Signed With Poland

*LD121222 Budapest MTI in English*
*1735 GMT 11 Dec 87*

[Text] Budapest, December 11 (MTI)—The meeting of the co-chairmen of the Hungarian-Polish Committee for Economic, and Technical and Scientific Cooperation concluded with the signature of a protocol on Budapest on Friday.

Deputy Premiers Jozsef Marjai of Hungary and Jozef Koziol of Poland, co-chairmen of the committee, stated that based on reciprocal interest, considerable advance was made in the establishment of direct links between companies, and in the intensification of fruitful technical and scientific cooperation. Particular tasks were set in vehicle and agricultural machinery manufacture, electronics, agriculture, and forestry.

The expansion of reciprocally advantageous cooperation to consumer products and fulfillment of mutual obligations has to be given priority.

Hungarian and Polish company managers also participated in the work of the meeting.

Jozef Koziol met Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Jozef Koziol left Budapest on Friday.

The five-day conference of Hungarian and Polish company managers concluded at the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. The closing session was attended by Joszef Marjai and Jozef Koziol. Participants were briefed on topical issues of Hungarian-Polish technical and scientific cooperation, including the main trends of development and the results of bialteral inter-company talks. A similar conference of company managers will be held in Warsaw early in 1989.

## Nemeth Writes on Socioeconomic Issues

*LD240917 Budapest MTI in English*
*0018 GMT 24 Dec 87*

[Text] Budapest, December 24 (MTI)—Thursday's MAGYAR NEMZET carries a full-page article by Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee. Excerpts dealing with the relationship between economic and social policy issues:

'The latest session of parliament proved again that our people's power is able and ready to support and carry out the required economic and social policy on the basis of the programme of advance. It is a task of historic dimensions as no society could ever unfold in harmony the advantages of individual autonomy, self-realization and social justice. The liberal view that self-interest automatically directs people to the best service of social interests has been discredited. The assertion of liberalism, while increasing economic performance, generates selfishness that disarranges society and human relations. We cannot follow that road.

'Nor can we follow the practice that asserts egalitarianism in the name of social justice and prevents us from making use of differentiation that is a major driving force for better work and greater economic performance. It is borne out by historical experience that the societies preferring egalitarianism had a great price to pay since low economic performance put them into a defenceless position in the international economic competition.'

'The principal dilemma of the 1988 plan lies in the simultaneous assertion of incentives and social-welfare security. International experience shows that the countries which reached a technical, economic and social level ensuring competitiveness had not guaranteed social-welfare security and basic supply "en route". They first established a mechanism of incentives and then a protective net of welfare provisions that are immediately curtailed in case of economic difficulties.

'It is obvious that we cannot follow this road either. However, it is a priority task to increase economic performance and create competitive commodity stocks. Otherwise we would slowly and gradually, but surely slip back into an "egalitarian" position which makes it impossible for us to keep abreast of the international economic processes.

'There is no recipe for creating a balance of incentives for economic performance and social-welfare security. We have to create relative, and sometimes very fragile, balances on the way while we consider it the top priority to establish competitive commodity stocks.

'We have to change our former attitudes and practice, mainly through improving the incentive system and launching a reform of wage and earnings regulation as soon as possible. The principal problem of the incentive system lies in the fact that the wages and earnings do not adequately reflect the quantity, quality and utility of the work done. Activities that are of utmost importance for the efficiency of enterprises are not always duly paid and recognized.

'Appropriate differentiation between enterprises is another condition of an efficient incentive system. If there is only an accidental relationship between the success of an enterprise and the growth of wages and earnings, enterprises that are more useful for the national economy fail to select or attract the best workers.

'The wage and earnings policy should become the basis of an incentive system in which a workplace should be deserved and can also be lost: Workers should be required to achieve high performance for which the technical conditions and regular control should also be

guaranteed, and finally earnings should be adjusted to performances so that the incentive force should lie in the differences of earnings rather than the increases.

'To implement the programme of stabilization is not merely an economic policy task, the central management, the government and enterprise management alone are unable to perform this task.

'It is an important requirement that the traditional social-welfare policy should be integrated into a comprehensive social policy as soon as possible. It is a feature of this policy that the economic organizations cannot pursue an incentive wage policy simultaneously with a social-welfare policy that reduces social differences. Incentives for production should be consistently separated from the reduction of social handicaps. Otherwise the two functions would merge into one another.

'Instead of social compensation, the economic organizations should set the aim of increasing their performance, by strengthening relations with the workers. At the same time the economic organizations should make use of other social policy means to increase the performance of workers.

'From the social policy factors influencing performance, the following are of utmost importance: Improvement of working conditions, transformation of the content of work by extending the possibilities of personal responsibility and initiative, creation of organizational forms that require and promote cooperation between workers, inclusion of the organized forms of workers' participation and say in the process of decision-making, and the elaboration and implementation of complex programmes of labour and management development, and a kind of career planning.

'As far as the other side of social policy is concerned, social handicaps should be reduced and the weak supported on national and governmental level. The task which would lay a burden on the economic organizations and make it impossible for them to provode incentives for better performance is a pressing political and moral necessity on the level of society as a whole.

'This task cannot be fulfilled by any power lacking the active and initiating support of society. For this reason the load-bearing capacity of society should be increased, mainly by strengthening social integration. Starting from this, we should promote the institution of the family so that there should be less [word indistinct] and psychical injuries, and failures in integration. These influence not only the processes of social reproduction but also limit the willingness and ability to work. We have to strengthen the cohesion of families so that they should care for their members in need to a growing extent. This is a point where the interests of the economy and society coincide.

'We have to promote the organization of small communities which are able to mitigate the effects of the devaluating social allowances and help preserve the standard of services rendered for the population. It is another field where the interests of the economy and society coincide. This can be a sound basis for extending democracy in the management of social-welfare policy as not only the promotion of the social activity of families and small communities is inconceivable without local autonomy, but also some features of social-welfare policy require the extension of democracy.'

## Havasi Interviewed on 'Current Economic Plight'

*LD240851 Budapest MTI in English*
*0010 GMT 24 Dec 87*

[Text] Budapest, December 24 (MTI)—Below, we carry excerpts from the full-page interview given by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Political Committee on the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to the Thursday issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP. The quoted paragraphs concern the causes of the current economic plight.

"Nowadays certain critical remarks are formulated more and more markedly. Some say it was an error to press at the congress and after the congress for growth and dynamization, because it led to the failure to carry out the 1985-1986 plans adequately and to the excessive increase in the national debt. This criticism has been expressed both by reform economists and part of the opposition.

"It is worthwhile to treat this problematology not only because of the facts, but also because it has to be clear that advance and the decrease of debts is conditional on economic invigoration in an altered good structure. To meet our debt service commitments, we have to increase the value- and income-generating capability of the economy. All this can only be achieved by the gradual dynamization of economic growth based on restructuring. This calls for a 2-2.5 per cent and later a 3-3.5 per cent growth of the national income. For this reason, the view that the error damageous [as received] to balance lies in the stands on the ill-considered economic dynamization, is unacceptable to me. Not to speak of the fact that, contrary to our concept, in 1985 and 1986 the economy did not become more dynamic, bud declines. The increase in debts was not mainly due to the intention of dynamization, but to the unsatisfactory trends in the export capacity of the economy and the extremely slow change in the economic pattern, which was even continuously devalued by the world market. "How far can the blame be placed on former political decision-making and guidance work? In my opinion in so far as we have been created, I mean the Central Committee, the organizational and personal conditions of execution. This is an old problem of execution with us. This led to the strange view, also espoused by the opposition, that 'execution

was retarded by wrong decisions, and the Central Committee came to a false conclusion by stating: Its decisions are good, only implementation is wrong'. In fact, however, this position was not prevelant in the Central Committee."

"The other fault that can be attributed to the political leadership is that it made the reform, the reform of the economic management system extend to all domains of social life with great delay. In my view, Gorbachev's perestroyka differs, let us add enviably, from the Hungarian in so far as the transformation there simultaneously covered ideological life, mass communication, legislation, cadre work and numerous other areas. We have been trying for twenty years to make the economy proceed as a kind of vanguard, while not closing up the other 'services' till the danger exists that the backward areas do not support but put under question the economic endeavours. However, if all 'services' were in step in such an advance, that is if they did not follow the economy but kept pace with it, advance would be more successful as an 'all-service battle'. In my opinion, the fact that this has been recognized by the Hungarian leadership, is largely attributable to the Soviet initiative, and partly to the realization that this is indispensable for genuine restructuring and the foundation of advance in Hungary, too.

"After such preliminaries the question is justified: How far could ideology help the reform? I think that certain social sciences helped and even prepared the reform without delay. For instance, the Hungarian economic science cannot be criticized for lack of reform-oriented thinking and failure to realize the necessary reforms. Hungarian sociology also made considerable progress and was helpful. On the other hand, a few branches of social sciences lagged far behind practice, although it has never been indifferent how big is the follow-up effect...even now some people approach or judge from the ideological angle the clarification of such questions as our level of social development, the existence of commodity and money relations, the property relations of socialism, trade relations with the West and trade and business links within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

"To these people even the joining of the international monetary fund was almost tantamount to treason. With regard to the CMEA, they fetishize even what cannot be fetishized, since there are also business and national interests in our CMEA relations. I say for the sake of advance: It will be very difficult to move forward as long as we examine these themes on an ideological or exclusively political platform, because it might lead to erroneous conclusions.

**State, Trade Unions Relations Analyzed**

*LD240916 Budapest MTI in English*
*0030 GMT 24 Dec 87*

[Text] Budapest, December 24 (MTI)—Thursday's NEPSZAVA carries a contribution from Sandor Gaspar, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and president of the Hungarian National Council of Trade Unions. Excerpts on the relations of the state and the trade unions:

The trade union movement approves the targets stipulated in the development programme of the government and the Central Committee, and supports their realization with the means at its disposal, because a higher value generating ability of the national economy is the prerequisite of the satisfaction of any demand. We have a particular responsibility for the fulfilment of the targets envisaged by the 1988 plan, because it affects the fundamental position of trade unions, and their critical attitude.

The trade unions do not take a stand against necessary measures that do not meet the approval of the masses, from the conviction that it would aggrevate difficulties instead of easing them. They receive necessary measures with approval, and adopt others because they want to make a constructive contribution to the settling of economic difficulties.

In recent weeks trade unions made painstaking efforts to alleviate the impact of the new taxation and price system. We openly told members that under the current circumstances more could not be achieved. Those who wish socialist development and back the socialist power have to manifest responsibility, remain calm, and do their utmost to search for the possible best solutions.

Given the situation of the country, we adopted certain measures unfavourable for the workers. We do not regard as a failure that several motions of the trade unions were not accepted. Bearing the overall social interest in mind we accepted the measures. We opt for this attitude while being aware of the dangers of the self-imposed restraint and the policy of understanding in the work of trade unions. A struggle waged for minor amendments can wear down confidence of members.

It poses the same dangers, referring to the load-bearing capacity of the national economy, if some branches' rightful demands are rejected, or if a given company puts off proposals mentioning its own load-bearing capacity. Here the confidence of society lessons.

It is obvious that there is a limit to the burden of economic units. But reference to this is often only a pretext for managers to avoid confrontation with the workers. It is easier for them to justify their conservatism and passivity and explain why they never take initiatives.

Trade unions cannot take the fundamental position under which they keep pointing at the limits of opportunities and do not even attempt to question the wrong economic conceptions. Though with regard to our objectives, we all are "pro-government", this does not imply a collective or individual attitude where loyalty and ayes are taken for granted.

While studying the alternatives in the course of the preparation of measures of the following years, trade unions took the attitude of critical support that pointed to the impact on the daily interests of workers, and the expected sacrifice needed from society. Due to the intervention of trade unions the decision-makers elaborate their concepts until they reach the greatest possible social efficiency and protection.

It adds to the current difficulties that parallel tasks have to be tackled and which sometimes exert contrary influences—to require higher performance amidst declining living standards, to represent workers and full employment while supporting efficiency of employment, to give financial incentives for outstanding performance and taking into account the wage demand of all workers, and to give preference to social strata in the most severe situation by transfering funds from the scarce financial means earmarked for those with outstanding performance.

The fact that all these demands are just and financial means scarce complicates the work of the trade unions.

It would be a mistake to conceal the fact that trade unions should have publicly criticized ineffective or wrong decisions and the inconsistency of execution. They also should have called for necessary modifications more firmly.

If we do not change the practice where the economic evaluations, the decisions and the speeches of leaders of the National Council of Trade Unions hardly differ from those of the state and economic management, we will not represent the position of trade unions.

It is not the agreement that poses a problem in the trade unions' statements of position, but the lack of their contribution to certain decisions. It is a shortcoming if these statements lack the working of endeavours that were realized only partly or not at all or the detailed and particular working of the targets and methods that the trade unions consider important in the implementation of economic and social targets.

The social, economic and political difficulties of the country can be tackled and settled solely by persistent and strenuous efforts, which always bring about the accumulation of tension. That is what is happening now. Under these circumstances we consider it important to underline that according to the trade unions there is an opportunity to ease the current tension, and even the difficulties accumulated in the course of decades can be alleviated.

**Communique Issued on Visit by CSSR's Chnoupek**
*LD222238 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2121 GMT 22 Dec 87*

["Joint Communique on Chnoupek's Visit (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 22—Minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Bohuslav Chnoupek paid an official visit of friendship to Poland on December 21 and 22 this year, following an invitation from Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic Marian Orzechowski.

Bohuslav Chnoupek was received by PUWP CC First Secretary and President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. The Czechoslovak foreign minister was also received by Poland's Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner and Sejm's Speaker Roman Malinowski.

The foreign ministers informed each other about the activities to perfect the forms and mechanisms of socialist democracy and to consistently introduce the process of reforms and restructuring of economy. They exchanged opinions on the current situation and main directions of development of international relations.

Orzechowski and Chnoupek expressed their satisfaction at the successful development of Polish-Czechoslovak relations.

The two stressed that enhancement of comprehensive cooperation and consolidation of traditional friendship between the peoples of Poland and Czechoslovakia served the interests of both countries, contributed to perfection of cooperation within the Warsaw treaty and to strengthening of unity and cohesion of the socialist community's states.

Of vital importance to the development of relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia is close cooperation between the PUWP and the CPCZ, parliaments, respective governmental bodies, political and public organizations, as well as consistant expansion of contacts between the two peoples.

The two pointed to the necessity to accelerate the preparatory works on the agreement on cooperation in the field of internationalist upbringing, and development of contacts between children and youth of the two countries.

It was agreed that effective January 1988 the duration of transit of Polish tourists across the Czechoslovak territory will be extended from 24 to 48 hours.

Noting positive results of the mutually beneficial economic cooperation, the ministers declared themselves in favour of intensive introduction of its higher, more effective forms, such as company-to-company supplies and services, direct cooperation of economic organizations, and establishment of joint ventures.

Both ministers carried out an evaluation of the international situation and stressed that its complex character was being more and more affected by favourable phenomena which are, chiefly, a result of the never-ceasing peaceful efforts on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Poland and Czechoslovakia welcomed the Soviet-American treaty on elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles as an important step along the road towards disarmament.

The two countries expressed a hope that implementation of the Soviet Union's creative initiatives would contribute to a growth of confidence both in Europe and the world, and would bear impact upon development of constructive dialogue between the Warsaw-treaty member-states and the NATO members.

It was in that context that the ministers emphasized the importance of making consistent efforts in order to create a universal system of international peace and security, in keeping with the proposal submitted to the United Nations' forum by socialist states.

The two reaffirmed the determination of Poland and Czechoslovakia to act in the spirit of the resolutions of the Berlin meeting of the advisory political committee of the Warsaw treaty member-states in order to put to life the programme of disarmament.

Pointing to the fact that peaceful initiatives of socialist states remain topical, the ministers underlined the importance of the Polish plan to reduce armaments and to increase confidence in central Europe, as well as of the joint proposal by Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic to establish a nuclear-free and chemical-weapons-free corridor. Implementation of the two proposals would become a significant factor of consolidation of peace, stability, and security on the continent.

Orzechowski and Chnoupek declared themselves in favour of development of all-European cooperation that would be pursued in a climate of good-neighbourly relations, confidence, co-existence and mutual understanding. Expressing Poland's and Czechoslovakia's commitment to continuation and activation of the CSCE process, they emphasized the need to urgently adopt a final document which would create new impulses for disarmament and for elevation of all-European cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

Stating that inviolability of borders, strict recognition of territorial and political realities, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states were an indispensable condition of essential progress on the path of consolidation of peace, security, and cooperation in Europe, the two sides

pointed out that the activities of revisionist forces, in the FRG first of all, and support of revionism anywhere it takes place was contrary to the interests of detente and security, and contradictory to the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. The talks between foreign ministers of Poland and Czechoslovakia were held in an open and friendly atmosphere and confirmed complete agreement of opinions in all domains discussed.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister invited Poland's minister for foreign affairs to pay a visit to Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

### Joint Japanese Trade Committee Session Held

*OW221355 Tokyo KYODO in English*
*1232 GMT 22 Dec 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 22 (KYODO)—Poland and Japan opened a two-day meeting of their joint committee Tuesday to discuss the present economic and trade situation between them and ways to promote trade.

Japanese officials said Japan is represented at the meeting by Deputy Foreign Minister Takakazu Kuriyama and Poland by Deputy Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Ryszard Dobrovolski.

### 'Normalization' of Relations With U.K. Noted

*AU141642 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*
*11 Dec 87 p 8*

[Zygmunt Broniarek commentary: "New Possibilities"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski's 3-day visit to London took place at a time marked by increasing East-West detente and a joint desire by the governments of Poland and Great Britain to expand and enrich mutual contacts.

The diplomatic circles of Europe have monitored the Polish-British talks on the Thames with interest, for they are an important part of the detente process in Europe. They also correspond to Great Britain's important position in the Atlantic alliance and to American-British relations. They are also closely connected with Poland's position in the Warsaw Pact and the voice of our country in matters concerning disarmament and peace. Therefore, an exchange of views on the subject of basic problems of the modern world took up much space in the talks by the chief of Polish diplomacy, which revealed that these views frequently coincide. As confirmed by the talks with Minister Geoffrey Howe, chief of the Foreign Office, both sides are interested in consolidating the processes of detente, disarmament, and cooperation.

In this context, the British side expressed interest in the Jaruzelski plan as an important contribution by Poland to the perpetuation and development of this process.

As far as bilateral relations are concerned, Minister Orzechowski's visit has become an important stimulus to economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation. Let us recall that Great Britain is our second largest Western economic partner. The signing of an agreement to protect British capital and investments in Poland was a positive signal. The broad Polish economic reform and restructuring is opening up new prospects. It was agreed that teams of experts from both countries would investigate the possibilities of expanding mutual relations.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's future visit to our country is bound to be a positive step toward more intense Polish-British cooperation. This will be the first visit by a British prime minister to Poland in history.

Summing up the results of the London visit by the chief of Polish diplomacy, one can say with satisfaction that it has led to a complete normalization of Polish-British relations and created a good climate for their further development.

### Gwiazda Previews Foreign Trade for 1988

*LD172339 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1733 GMT 17 Dec 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—Following are excerpts from what Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda told PAP about the envisaged results in foreign trade, the ways of influencing exporters and the Polish economy's economic ties with other countries.

In trade with states of the so-called first payments zone (socialist countries excluding People's China and Yugoslavia) we expect a global levelling of the values of exports and imports. If we close the year with a negative balance, exports will be only slightly lower than imports from those countries (several dozen million transfer rubles). One could, therefore, state that the situation in general is developing in tune with the program, though not completely, because the imbalance in trade turnover with the Soviet Union is still there. No significant changes have occurred in the structure of turnover with CMEA-member states. We are chiefly developing trade in investment project goods and other industrial products.

Sales for hard currencies (to countries of the dollar zone, the so-called second payment zone) are expected to exceed imports by about 1.2 billion dollars. This is a volume which is in tune with the provisions of the central annual plan but is still not sufficient to even partially service the debt. Exports were to total 6,550 million dollars and will reach about 6.9 billion dollars. Thanks to this year's imports that will be slightly higher than planned.

Next year exports in trade with socialist countries are expected to be higher by 7.2-8 percent and imports by 2.8-3.3 percent, Gwiazda said.

In hard currency trade, both exports and imports in 1988 should be higher by about 360 million dollars each. Hence, the trade surplus would once again reach about 1.2 billion dollars.

A list of pro-exports investment projects requiring hard currency financing has been compiled. Initially it featured 200 items calling for an overall 960 million dollars which would be repaid in the form of dollar and ruble exports. It was then complemented with another 153 items of an overall outlay of 450 million dollars and envisaged annual exports increment of 500 million dollars. We are trying to find sources of financing in the form of foreign bank and commercial credits to finance these undertakings, characterized by, as has been precisely determined, a high or medium degree of pro-export output, the minister for foreign economic relations stated.

## Council of Ministers Holds Meeting

*LD190615 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2150 GMT 18 Dec 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 18—The Council of State held a meeting here today. The body acquainted itself with a report on the course and results of the official visit by President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski to Greece made last November 19-21.

The Council of State confirmed the big importance of Jaruzelski's meetings and talks with President of Greece Christos Sartzetakis, President of the Parliament Ioannis Alevras, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and other outstanding personalities of that country.

It was pointed out that the future contacts between the governments, parliaments and state institutions, as well as the development of cultural and scientific cooperation, will be of considerable importance, alongside the economic cooperation, for the favourable development of bilateral relations.

The Council of State accentuated the need for accurate and on time implementation of the motions and decisions resulting from the visit.

The Council of State made an analysis of the results and the course of the nation-wide referendum. It said that the referendum had been carried out efficiently and with full respect for the binding law.

An analysis of the results of the referendum points to a big political activeness of society. A decisive majority of the people taking part in the referendum supported the programme of the accelerated economic reforms and further democratization of social life.

The meeting reviewed indispensable activities of the people's councils resulting from the conclusion of their term of office in June, 1988.

The Council of State reviewed a report on the (?1987) activities of the centre for self-government studies.

The Council of State decided to grant the municipal rights, as of January 1st, 1988, to the following localities: Brusy in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship, Jozefow in the Zamosc Voivodship, Nowogrod Dobrzanski in the Zielona Gora Voivodship and Ozarow in the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship, were united to form one commune.

The Council of State ratified:

—The agreement between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of the Chinese People's Republic on cultural and scientific cooperation, signed in Beijing on 30 September, 1986

—The agreement and the protocol between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of Canada on avoiding double taxation in the field of income and property taxes, signed here May 4, 1987.

—The consular convention between the Polish People's Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, signed in Warsaw on July 23, 1987

—The international agreement on making use of Inmarsat ground stations mounted on ships within the territorial seas and ports, signed in London on October 16, 1985

—The international convention against apartheid in sport, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1985

—The third additional protocol to the constitution of the universal postal union, drafted in Hamburg on July 27, 1984

—The international convention on sea rescue service, 1979, prepared in Hamburg on April 27, 1979.

The Council of State appointed:

—Mieczyslaw Biernacki to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic in the Republic of Colombia.

—Anton Pierzchala to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic in New Zealand. Pierzchala will perform this function along the function of the Polish ambassador to the Commonwealth of Australia, to which he was appointed last September.

Three persons were appointed to be judges of the chief administrative court, twelve—to be judges of the voivodship country, and seventy—to be judges of the district court.

Twenty people were granted Polish citizenship.

The Council of State defined its schedule for 1988.

## Security Official Addresses 6th PZPR CC Plenum

*AU212032 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Dec 87 p 4*

[Speech by Wladyslaw Pozoga, Central Committee member and first deputy minister of internal affairs, at the Sixth Central Committee plenum on 15 December in Warsaw]

[Text] The process of relaxing and solving our internal problems—this process is being shored up by our foreign policy—helps to strengthen Poland's position in the socialist community and in the world. The national referendum was accepted with praise for the courage, informality, and democratism of the referendum solutions. Even those circles in the West that are programmatically unfriendly to our country concede that the referendum has extended the range of public trust in the policies of our authorities. Nor do these circles place a sign of equality between the appeals to boycott the referendum and the absence from it. The local and community reasons for this absence were very different.

I do certainly not want to minimize the significance of the domestic antisocialist forces and our external adversaries, who have tried to present the referendum as a confrontation with the authorities. The plans of our adversaries provided for disturbances of the atmosphere and for aggravating tensions by exaggerating the planned price and income measures, by fanning the buying panic, by stimulating people's demands for various concessions in order to undermine the mechanisms of the reform, and by other means. The adversaries also prepared for many street provocations in order to disorganize the course of the referendum in some townships.

It is unfortunate that all these actions aimed at disturbances emanated from Catholic churches. It is significant that all the extremists united themselves in a common front against the referendum, that is, against the reforms. The most reckless groups from former Solidarity, Solidarity's intellectual advisors, the extreme right wing reactionaries, the small groups posing as social democrats, politically belligerent clerics, and those who want to disturb the peace for pseudo-pacifist reasons were in this common front. Attempts to boycott the referendum compromised our adversaries not only in Poland, but also vis-a-vis their patrons in the West. They displayed their helplessness and their unreliability as sources of information about the situation and events in Poland.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has much information about the plans of the adversaries of socialism, who know that their positions continue to totter. That is why they resort to various measures to make people believe that they still exist.

The present lines and forms of our adversaries' activities have been politically compromised and continue to be neutralized with increasing effectiveness. The basic structures of the so-called underground have been politically compromised and most underground activists have been identified.

There are many reasons why our adversaries have lost their opportunities for influencing social moods, but one reason is certain: It is the result of the party's political strategy known as the line of accord, struggle, and reforms. The weakening of our adversaries and the continuation of the struggle against extremists help to create advantageous conditions for the further development of democratization and national accord. I wish to assure the House that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is not afraid of renewal, democratization, and the development of socialist legality, because we remember very well why in the past we suffered defeats and had to experience various breakdowns in development, various "vagaries" of events, and various social tremors.

It was and is unrealistic to count on the weakening of people's rule by disturbing the process of reforms and by taking advantage of socialist pluralism for subversive purposes. None of the people who want to destroy everything should have any illusions that it is possible to violate the socialist rule of law with impunity. We will continue to combat the extremists who engage in destructive activities in order to disturb the domestic peace and thus to hinder the reforms and the program for Poland's development. We will continue to do so in a particularly determined manner with the help of the resources provided by the law.

However, our adversaries have not given up their antistate and actually antinational activities. Their subversive goals are the same as those in 1980-81, and these goals are being mostly realized by the same groups of people and even organizational structures that are now trying to set up various commissions, associations, and parodies of political parties.

Attending to non-Polish interests, the most extreme and reckless wing of the adversaries of socialism is even ready to use the tools of terror as attested to by the terrorist equipment intercepted in transportation in Gdansk last October. The links uncovered by us in connection with this affair, which is still being investigated, lead directly to one of the international terrorist organizations—to the so-called Red Army Faction.

The activities of our domestic adversaries jibe in and supplement the plans and policies of our external adversaries. You do not have to be a professional to know that he who pays calls the tune. The Western intelligence-subversive centers, which have for years been the chief coordinators of anti-Polish activities, are the paymasters. Dollar injections make it easier to don the garb of defenders of the workers class.

Counting on anti-Polish subversive activities has been a long tradition with some Western circles. However, what is astonishing is that in order to launch these activities the circles in question violate the accepted international norms, treaty obligations, and officially proclaimed principles of the policy toward Poland. What is more, these activities are in conflict with the emerging positive tendencies in East-West relations, which have been bolstered anew by the recent Soviet-U.S. summit. This doubled-faced policy also seeks to widen attempts to recruit our citizens and to induce them to betray their homeland. It seeks to intensify the intelligence penetration of some institutions and communities. Only in 1986-87 did we uncover and put on trial 18 agents of the Western intelligence services and expel three spying diplomats from Poland.

My ministry's activities help to purge the field for the economic and political reforms and to counter the abuses of freedom for the purposes that are in conflict with the interests of the community and the Polish socialist state.

It is natural that some kinds of crime, especially those endangering the personal safety of citizens, make people fear for their personal well-being. It is true that the activities of the criminal investigations apparatus and the Ministry of Justice have helped to somewhat improve social discipline, to check the obnoxious features of crime, and to increase the number of caught criminals, but we realize that people expect us to do much more. Bearing this in mind, the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs continues to regroup its forces and to strengthen the areas that are most endangered. We view the intensification of the struggle against crime and other features of social maladies against the background of sociopolitical determining factors. This intensification has an especially important task to fulfill—to protect the mechanisms of the economic reform. Our intention is not to bridle or eliminate any groups or sectors in production, trade, and service activities, but we will be resolute in combatting those who damage the economy and violate antiprofiteering and taxation regulations.

## PZPR Politburo Holds Session 22 Dec

*LD230113 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2245 GMT 22 Dec 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 22—During a session held here today the PUWP CC Political Bureau acquainted itself with the government's drafts of the central annual plan and the national budget for 1988, as well as with the present market situation.

The directions adopted in both drafts were deemed correct by the participants. Their realization will require particular persistence since 1988 will be the first year of the application of new, more radical systemic solutions of the second stage of economic reform.

Actions are being undertaken for the improvement of the market situation. The excessive buying out of goods has been limited.

The Political Bureau adopted a report on the results of the Warsaw meeting of the first secretaries of the party committees from the capitals of the six socialist countries. The bureau deemed the meeting as very useful.

## PZPR CC Resolution on Washington Summit

*AU211553 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*
*18 Dec 87 p 2*

["Resolution by the PZPR Central Committee"—PAP headline]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee expresses full support for the Soviet-American treaty to eliminate medium-range and shorter-range missiles. We believe it corresponds to the hopes of European nations and peaceful aspirations of all mankind. It signifies the first crucial step toward effective disarmament and is bringing closer the vision of freeing our planet of nuclear weapons by the end of the century, presented by Mikhail Gorbachev 2 years ago. The recognition of the fact that a nuclear war should never break out and that there can be no victor illustrates a growing realism in international relations. The planned halving of strategic offensive nuclear weapons, preventing the transfer of the arms race to space, eliminating chemical weapons, reducting conventional armed forces and armaments, cooperating on a global scale—this is a difficult but realistic program of securing lasting peace in the world.

For our nation, peaceful coexistence and the development of international cooperation plus the building of a system of universal security result from historical experience and constitute the Polish raison d'etat. The PZPR and PPR Government have presented major peace initiatives many times in the past. Continuing this policy and implementing the 10th Congress Declaration on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we will continue to contribute toward the establishment by the socialist community of a new way of political thinking about world affairs. The PZPR Central Committee is convinced that this task is fully served by the plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, presented by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski in May. A development of constructive dialogue around this Polish initiative is assuming particular topicality today.

The PZPR Central Committee believes that trends to "compensate" for the elimination of American medium- and shorter-range missiles in Europe by increasing armaments in other areas should be firmly opposed. This would be completely contrary to the concluded agreements and would impose a new, costly, and highly dangerous arms race on Europe. We call on all the forces in favor of consolidating European peace and security to oppose this emerging danger together.

The PZPR Central Committee fully approves of the results of the Warsaw Pact meeting in Berlin on 11 May. This meeting affirmed our alliance's joint desire to implement the program of peace and security in Europe and the world.

Expressing our praise for the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting, we convey to Soviet Communists and all working people in the Soviet Union fraternal greetings and profound respect for the consistent implementation of the line of restructuring and policy of peace that are expanding socialism's values and prospects. The CPSU-inspired new approach in solving international problems is encountering broad interest and support in the world.

Nations are realizing that differences can be overcome, conflicts resolved, and dangers overcome only through common efforts, by means of dialogue and cooperation in a climate of confidence. These actions suit the vital interests, humanitarian traditions, and peaceful intentions of the Polish people.

The PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw, 15 December 1987.

## Rakowski Addresses 6th CC Plenum

*AU210905 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 87 p*

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Politburo member and deputy marshal of the Sejm, at the 15 December Warsaw 6th PZPR Central Committee plenum]

[Text] In the past few years the unfriendly bourgeois press, representative of the domestic antisocialist forces, and adversaries of our policy have propagated the following model of political relations in Poland: At one end the government and at the other end people hostile to it. These forces have repeated ad nauseam that our people generally do not accept our government and accept communist rule only because there is no way out, and that our people are against it all the same. On 29 November this thesis was demolished but not by that small group of propaganda makers or by the more or less skillful journalists. It was demolished by the 12 million people who voted "yes" to our proposals and by the 4 million of those who voted "no". The latter wanted to express their civic views through the agency of our institutions and through the framework of our democracy, which means that by going to the polls they recognized our institutions as their own.

Even if this were the only result of the referendum, we would still have to regard it as an important and advantageous event for the reform in the second half of the eighties. There have been many such events. As a result of the referendum, the credibility of our plans to democratize our sociopolitical relations has been strengthened in the eyes of world public opinion and many serious politicians and journalists. The referendum has also strengthened Poland's position in the world.

I am convinced that the decision to hold the referendum and to incorporate it within the political structures of Polish socialism was absolutely correct and that making light of the many positive results of the referendum would have been a political error and would have amounted to encouragement to give up the democratic method of government. In the period prior to 29 November we noted that people became much more interested in public affairs, and this entitled us to conclude that that period produced an obvious lowering of the threshold of indifference and apathy. This is yet another fact to worry our adversaries, but they are not the most important factor in this connection. What is most important is the question what we should do to prevent indifference and apathy from coming back.

The answer is: We must continue to forge ahead, that is, to consistently implement the guiding lines of the second stage of the economic reform and to intensify the process of socialist democracy. I mean that our activities should not be just for show. I mean that they should be concrete and that citizens should be able to notice them. However, as our experience shows, this is easier said than done. Although I believe in the sincerity of the assurances that the executive program for the second stage of the economic reform will be consistently realized, I would like to stress the necessity to be aware of certain dangers.

The changes carried out in the center amount to a profound reorganization of the system of government. This may create a temporary disarray. The necessary decisions may not be made in good time, and this may cause disturbances within the economy. In addition, people may say that everything is as it has always been and that nothing has changed. In a word, there is no reason to envy the premier his task.

The experience of the implementation of the first stage of our economic reform clearly indicates that the serious objective reasons for restricting the range of the economic reform were accompanied by subjective reasons. To put it in clear terms: The human factor at the top and at the grassroots level was responsible for hindering and blocking the economic reform.

We should be very sensitive to the still existing serious dangers to the reform in view of the fact that a profound and comprehensive reform is not a purely political issue. Such a reform involves not so much the question of power in general because the Polish leftwing will not surrender it to anyone—or should it surrender it to the closer or more remote relatives of the Polish right wing?—as the question of how to exercise this power.

Not so long ago we viewed the economic reform in too much of a one-sided way. We viewed it as an economic and technical operation. Today we are wiser and more

experienced, which does not mean, of course, that all the matters connected with the reform and its social and political effects have been clarified. There is no doubt that the reasons blocking the reform include one's fear that power may be weakened or even lost. For example, some people think that the complete realization of the reform will deprive us—the leading center—of the instruments with which we are able to determine the lines of social and economic development.

Doubts and fears as to the political and social effects of the economic reform are natural, because the planned changes in the socioeconomic model of socialism are revolutionary and in many cases renege the ideas and practices developed for dozens and dozens of years. Of course, this does not mean that we treat our system's democratization in dissociation with our system's principles. We will defend these principles. Coming to terms with the need to recognize that a certain stage of socialist building is over will certainly produce conflicts. In fact, proof that this statement is correct is already available. The question is who is to clarify doubts and fears, eliminate natural resistance to and common anxiety concerning the new untried things, and increase public readiness to help to strengthen progressive attitudes and trends.

There is only one answer to this: The force that is able to blaze the trail of progress and to win the masses for our program is (words indistinct).The Communist Party's role in the changes taking place in the socialist formation is of key importance. I think that many of us keep asking themselves how ready is our party to face in the Leninist way the exceedingly complicated problems produced by the world's development and how far we are able to victoriously master difficult and disadvantageous situations.

If we want to have a fighting party, the Central Committee plenums must work out a strategy vis-a-vis our political opponents. Party members and, especially, party activists must know where they are today and tomorrow. Without this knowledge, which was outlined by the Politburo report, our program to democratize our system may be resisted within our party. The multitude of our problems calls for greatly intensifying the party's ideological life.I would like to tell you something: Observing very closely intellectual life in our country, I cannot help feeling that it is often much more dynamic outside than inside the party. True, there is no lack of interesting and inspiring speeches and publications produced by party intellectuals, but this not enough. In a way, this amounts to just individual achievements.

All in all, the ideological-intellectual pulse of our work is too feeble, although the great changes in the socialist formation and the changes that are appearing on the horizon continue to create for us unprecedentedly magnificent opportunities to foster bold thinking and militant action. May the public strengthen its conviction that that which is interesting has its source in this building—the headquarters of the PZPR Central Committee.

## Party Control Body Views Party Sanctions

*AU211816 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Dec 87 p 2*

[Excerpts] PAP—On 16 December, the Presidium of the PZPR Central Auditing and Control Commission [CKKR] held a plenary meeting. [passage omitted]

The Presidium examined the results of controls into the standard of cooperation between party committees and auditing-control commissions on the one hand, and organs of state and social control and law enforcement bodies on the other.

Between January and September 1987, voivodship control and auditing commissions, acting on information and signals from law enforcement bodies, imposed party sanctions on 905 PZPR members for various types of socioeconomic misdemeanors.

Some 62 persons were expelled from the party, and 382 received other forms of statutory punishment. Some 258 persons received warning talks, and 82 were cleared of all accusations. In addition, party recommendations to hold a leadership post were withdrawn for 85 persons. The persons who received party sanctions included 370, who held various leadership posts. The Presidium regarded it essential to tighten the cooperation between control and auditing commissions and the primary party organizations. [passage omitted]

Assessing the results of controls into party jurisdiction in selected primary-level committees and organizations, the CKKR Presidium concluded that the jurisdiction in most of these bodies was correct and in accordance with the PZPR Statute. However, it noted that some party organizations still use their statutory powers in this sphere relatively seldom and rather reluctantly. [passage omitted]

The meeting was chaired by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Politburo member and CKKR chairman.

### 27 Dec Protest Against Ceausescu Called

*AU231315 Vienna KURIER in German*
*23 Dec 87 p 3*

[Text] Resistance against Ceausescu's regime in Romania is mounting: Fliers and letters call for practically nationwide demonstrations on 27 December.

KURIER was the only paper to receive this appeal via a circuitious route. For the first time, this appeal cites all larger cities and counties in Romania, which are called on to participate in this protest action. To date there have only been isolated and regional eruptions of the people's rage.

In some Romanian cities slogans on house walls even demand the return of King Mihai.

### Further on Protests

*AU240847 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German*
*24 Dec 87 p 2*

[Peter Martos report: "Call for Protests Against Ceausescu; 'Myth of Romanian Passivity Destroyed'"]

[Text] Vienna—On Sunday [27 December] a series of demonstrations against the policy of state and party chief Nicolae Ceausescu is to take place in no less than 94 Romanian cities. In an appeal, the text of which reached the West on Wednesday [23 December], the "Romanian Democratic Action" (ADR) calls on the population to take part "in as great a number as possible in an open referendum on the real popularity of the Ceausescu regime."

The "historic manifestations" in Brasov were noted "with great pride," which "once and for all destroyed the myth of Romanian passivity," write the organizers, whose names are unknown and who have repeatedly addressed the public with leaflets. At the same time, they welcome the response abroad to the demonstrations of Brasov and Timisoara and the setting on fire of a wooden triumphal arch in Bucharest.

ADR expresses its "full solidarity with these entirely justified protest actions." The organizers voice their "aversion to the unconstitutional arrests that took place in Timisoara." "In light of these facts" and knowing about the freedom of assembly set down in the Romanian Constitution, "we accept full civic responsibility."

The actions, for which locations in the 94 cities and exact times have been set, are to take place according to a planned pattern. After the people have assembled, it is intended—following the example of the Polish Solidarity Trade Union—to sing the national anthem, two lines of which will be changed ("...that today you openly oppose a terrible dictator"); the Internationale, which will be supplemented with the line "Ceausescu down, down, down"; and the song "Wake Up, Romanian" in the original text.

The participants in the demonstrations are urgently asked "not to incur acts of violence and vandalism, but in case of justified self-defense to energetically defend the international right to manifestations." Ironically, there are also meeting places for those who are satisfied with Ceausescu.

In addition, the Romanian working people are also called upon to stop work for 15 minutes on Monday at 0800 and to sing the above-mentioned three songs. At the same time, Ceausescu's followers are to send a telegram to the "Conducator" wishing him "Good luck!"

## Further Reportage on RCP National Conference

### Constantin Presents Appeals Report

*AU221534 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian*
*17 Dec 87 p 5*

["Report of the Appeals Commission Presented by Comrade Nicolae Constantin," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, at the RCP National Conference in Bucharest 15 December]

[Text] Much esteemed Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, esteemed comrades delegates:

The current RCP National Conference has received appeals and written statements from 266 people so far regarding their party status. Examining the appeals and written statements sent to the conference, the Appeals Commission, which was elected by the Conference, reports the following: 148 persons contest the decisions of the party bodies and organizations regarding their exclusion from the party; 6 comrades contest the grounds of their receiving other party sanctions; viewing their exclusion from the party as founded, 59 persons request that they be admitted once again to the party ranks on the basis of the rehabilitation work they carried out after their exclusion; 5 citizens, former party members, contest the decisions rejecting their applications for being readmitted to the party; 7 comrades, who were admitted to the party once again, request that their length of party membership before their exclusion be recognized; taking into consideration the activity they carried out before 23 August 1944, 14 comrades have requested that the length of their membership in the party during its illegal period be recognized or that they be included in the records on those who were active in the workers movement before 23 August 1944; 4 comrades requested the settlement of other problems linked with their participation in the illegal revolutionary movement, while 23 persons asked to be admitted or readmitted to the party; however, the basic party organizations have not yet discussed applications for admission as member of the RCP.

After examining the appeals and written statements, the commission proposes the following to the RCP National Conference:

1. The applications against being excluded from the party and against other party sanctions, as well as the applications for the recognition of party membership during the illegal period should be further examined and solved by the party Central Committee in conformity with the provisions of the Party Statute. This is necessary because during the conference it was not possible to thoroughly examine and resolve appeals and written statements on such cases, which require thorough study and documentation.

2. As far as applications for admission to the party are concerned, both on the applications of those who have been party members and of those who have never been party members, as well as the application of those requesting the recognition of the membership before their exclusion from the party—this being in conformity with the provisions of the Party Statute and with the competence of the basic party organizations and of the local party organizations—it was proposed that they should be sent to the country party committees with the specification to be solved within 3 years by strictly observing statutory provisions.

The Appeals Commission submits the above proposals of the Party National Conference for approval.

## Dascalescu Address Reported

*AU221404 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Dec 87 p 4*

[Unattributed report on "Speech by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania," at the RCP National Conference on 14 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, esteemed comrades:

The present Party National Conference goes down as an event of the greatest possible political importance and significance. Its mission is to examine, in a spirit of profound party exactingness, the results scored in the implementation of the 13th Party Congress decisions and to establish new measures designed to strongly stimulate our socialist nation's material and intellectual creative efforts, with a view to ensuring Romania's unswerving advance toward new peaks of progress and civilization.

Comrade Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant report to the high rostrum of the national forum of Romanian Communists presents itself—through its major ideas and theses, with their profoundly scientific content—as a program-document of great importance for our party and people, and for the revolutionary orientation and development of all our activity along the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring our fatherland's progress toward communism.

The speaker further said: I fully endorse the guidelines, targets, and tasks included in the report and the content of other documents discussed by the national conference. On this occasion, I would like to emphasize once more, with particular respect and admiration, the vital and decisive role of our eminent leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in defining and elaborating the strategy of our socioeconomic development, in consistently implementing our party-state domestic and foreign policy, and in identifying the best possible solutions to the cardinal problems of our intensive economic growth and to promote the harmonious and balanced development of all areas and counties in our country.

All people of good faith realize that the great and outstanding achievements obtained in the years after the Ninth Party Congress and the high prestige enjoyed by Romania internationally have been decisively influenced by the party secretary general's untiring work, by his total self-denial and devotion to the basic strivings of the nation, by his consistency and steadfastness in implementing established targets, and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's firmness and intransigence in ensuring the fulfillment of plans and programs for our country's socialist development and for our fatherland's continuous socioeconomic progress.

The speaker then pointed out that, in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, we have obtained a number of outstanding achievements in the country's socioeconomic development. Foreign economic exchanges and the economic and scientific-technical cooperation with other states continued to expand in this period. The growth in material production and its efficiency were positively reflected in the steady growth of the national income, thus securing the necessary resources to promote the country's overall development and raise the people's material and intellectual well-being.

At the same time, we continued to expand and modernize the technical-material base of the entire economy; made progress toward better using material and energy resources; increased the degree of mechanization and automation of manufacturing processes; and started production of new, high-performance products, which positively influenced our efforts to increase exports and reduce imports.

An important contribution to all these achievements was made by the promotion of our own scientific research and technological development and by the introduction and expansion of technical progress in all economic branches and sectors, in accordance with programs drafted under the leadership of Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

In order to solve the complex problems that ensure the unflinching implementation of the 13th Party Congress directives on intensive economic development in the current 5-year plan—beginning with the second half of

1985, and on Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative—we started a broad action, which is still under way, to improve the organization and modernization of productive processes.

At the same time, we applied new measures to ensure a better functioning of the economic-financial mechanism, aimed at accentuating the intensive development of our national economy, further strengthening socialist property, and attaining maximum efficiency in all fields.

Critically examining our activity, in the spirit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's requirements, the speaker further said, we must openly admit that there were serious shortcomings and deficiencies in this period, something that had a negative impact on fulfilling plan tasks for item-specified production and particularly the production earmarked for export, on commissioning certain projects, and on attaining the planned parameters and economic efficiency indicators of various units.

These deficiencies can mainly be found in the extractive industry, the electric power production industry, and certain branches of the processing industry.

One cannot separate these states of affairs from the activity of the government, of branch coordinating councils, and of the managements of relevant ministries, central departments, and enterprises, which failed to act firmly to attain the established daily production levels, use machines and installations to full capacity, make better use of manpower and the work schedule, and enhance order and discipline at each workplace.

One must also say that, because of serious shortcomings in preparing investment projects, ensuring the necessary documentation and equipment, and in appropriately organizing work on building sites, the results have been unsatisfactory; important production capacities were not commissioned on schedule, something which had a negative impact on securing the envisaged material resources.

Inappropriate results—which were rightly criticized by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—were also registered in the field of export, because of repeated shortcomings in the activity of certain ministries, central departments, and enterprises, which failed to give absolute priority to the production earmarked for export or to show appropriate concern with studying the foreign market, securing the necessary portfolio of orders, and rapidly adapting production to the requirements of clients.

All these deficiencies left their mark on our efficiency, particularly in the area of increasing labor productivity and reducing production costs.

In the period up to the end of the year, the government is determined to take firm steps to mobilize all collectives from economic units, so that they can commendably fulfill the plan tasks for December and the year 1987 and properly prepare for the 1988 plan.

We will create all conditions for smoothly and fully attaining item-specified production, by paying the greatest possible attention to implementing export provisions.

It is a primary duty of the government economic ministries, central departments, and enterprises to immediately take energetic steps to raise the technical-functional parameters of products and give priority to preparing and manufacturing the production earmarked for export, checking the fulfillment of all orders, and ensuring the delivery of quality goods to foreign customers on schedule, as stipulated by contracts.

The government will pay great attention to developing production-sharing and scientific-technical cooperation, concluding long-term agreements in order to provide a stable and certain basis for the country's exports and imports, and promoting a high spirit of responsibility, order, and discipline in the field of foreign trade.

We will take very special steps to further raise the efficiency of the entire activity, deepen the qualitative aspects of economic processes, and use all society's resources with maximum efficiency. We will see to it, with greater exactingness, that all units should implement in an exemplary way the measures envisaged for further raising labor productivity and reducing production costs, particularly material expenditures.

We will act to ensure a high degree of use of raw materials and substantially raise the efficiency of fixed assets, by better organizing production and work, increasing the skills and many-sided training of cadres, and improving the professional training of the working personnel.

We will pay particular attention to drastically reducing consumption, increasing the proportion of recoverable and reusable resources to satisfy requirements for raw and other materials, eliminating factory rejects, flawed products, and any kind of waste, and maximally shortening the money-commodity-money cycle. We will carefully supervise efforts to substantially diminish investment expenditures and to carry out repair and overhaul work in accordance with plan provisions.

Similarly, we lay particular emphasis on firmly applying the approved economic-financial standards and strictly regulating the size of stockpiles.

The exemplary fulfillment of export tasks and of tasks to increase efficiency in all fields and sectors requires efforts to accelerate the modernization of the entire economy, to rapidly replace outdated techniques and

technologies that are high consumers of raw materials and energy, and to perfect the manufacturing process and the cooperation between plants.

The integral fulfillment of the 1988 plan, the speaker further said, is a most important task for our country's transition to a higher stage of socioeconomic development and for new quality in our people's work and life.

The fulfillment of the daring targets included in the party program requires the further improvement of the overall style and methods of work, which is a key problem in the activity of party-state bodies and of all democratic leadership organs.

The fact that the activity of certain ministries, coordinating bodies, central departments, and enterprises is permeated by signs of formalism and bureaucratism—signs that are evident in the solving of certain problems on appropriately organizing production and work, ensuring a smooth technical-material supply, and implementing programs to modernize and raise the qualitative level of products—requires that we radically improve our style and methods of work, introduce a spirit of complete order and discipline, and exert strict control over the smooth fulfillment of plan tasks.

The government pledges to instill a more dynamic and exacting spirit at all levels, with a view to finding concrete and efficient solutions to problems that emerge during the plan fulfillment process in central departments and enterprises. We will pay particular attention to improving the activity of planning, financial, banking and other coordinating bodies, and the strengthening plan and financial discipline.

Firm steps will be taken to increase the responsibility of branch coordinating councils for further improving ties between ministries, central departments, and enterprises, so that the entire production activity can proceed expediently.

In the spirit of workers' self-management and economic self-financing and self-administration, the government will take steps to attain the planned incomes, introduce a strict savings regime in all fields of activity, and increase the responsibility of collective management bodies and of all working people in efficiently administering the means entrusted to them by society.

We assure you, much esteemed comrade secretary general, that we will take energetic steps to further improve the style and methods of work of ministries, first deputy prime ministers, and all leadership organs from the management of ministries and central departments, with a view to instilling a responsible and revolutionary spirit in all their activity of implementing party-state decisions and the country's laws.

In conclusion, the speaker said: Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report to the Fifth National Conference strongly highlights the indestructible unity between our party's domestic and foreign policy devoted to promoting broad cooperation among nations and to consolidating peace and security in the world—the sure guarantee of the free and independent development for each nation. Allow me to assure the Party National Conference and yourself, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the government will act firmly, in a revolutionary spirit, to unflinchingly implement the great targets established by the 13th Party Congress and the decisions we will adopt for the further development and prosperity of our fatherland and for the triumph of socialism and communism in Romania.

## GNA Resumes Work 23 Dec

*AU231710 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1614 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/12/1987—In the presence of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the sixth session of the Ninth Grand National Assembly resumed work on December 23.

Together with President Nicolae Ceausescu the members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP and members of the State Council took their seats in the official boxes.

The session was attended, beside the deputies, by members of the CC of the RCP and the government, executives of central institutions, mass and public organizations, representatives of the working people, men of letters and scientists.

Present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania and foreign journalists.

The session was opened by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

At the proposal of the Grand National Assembly Bureau, the following agenda was adopted:

1.- The bill of the single national plan of Romania's socio-economic development for 1988;

2.- The bill of the plan of development of agriculture, food industry, silviculture and water management of Romania for 1988;

3.- The bill of Romania's state budget for 1988;

4.- The self-management and self-sufficiency programme for the ensurance of the population's good supply with food products and consumer goods in 1988;

5.- The bill concerning socioeconomic ties among socialist units, the conclusion and honouring of economic contracts;

6.- The bill regarding the foundation of the Higher Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania with the role of working out guidelines and drafting the single national plans of economic and social development of the country;

7.- The bill for the approval of the decrees comprising norms with power of law issued by the State Council.

At the proposal of the Grand National Assembly Bureau, the item on the validation of the election of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and the recall of deputies was added to the agenda.

At this item on the agenda, Nicolae Mihalache, chairman of the validation commission, read the report of the commission on the validation of the election as deputies to the Grand National Assembly of the following deputies: Neculai Ibanescu, (Bucharest Municipality), Petre Fluture (Tirgu Jiu, Gorj County), Serban Teodorescu (Valenii de Munte, Prahova County).

At the same time, the proposals of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front were advanced regarding the recalling of deputies Marin Lungu (Craiova, Dolj County), and Manole Sechi (Brasov) for grave violations incompatible with the quality of a deputy.

The Grand National Assembly unanimously approved the recalling of these deputies.

Deputies Neculai Ibanescu, Petre Fluture and Serban Teodorescu took the oath of allegiance and devotion to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu read the memorandum on the Bill of the Single National Plan of Romania's Socioeconomic Development for 1988, the Bill of the Plan of the Development of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management and the Bill of the State Budget for 1988, while Lina Ciobanu, deputy prime minister, read the memorandum on the self-management and self-sufficiency programme for the population's good supply with food products and consumer goods in 1988.

Next, Manea Manescu, vice-chairman of the Higher Council of Economic and Social Development, read the bill concerning the setting up of the Higher Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania.

The Grand National Assembly approved the proposal on the postponement, for a future session, of the debate of the bill concerning the socioeconomic relations among socialist units, the conclusion and honouring of economic contracts, as the preparing papers had not been finished.

The proceedings of the session continued with the examination and debate of the bills and of the self-sufficiency programme within groups of deputies, set up by counties.

The proceedings of the session continue.

### Ceausescu Attends 24 Dec Session

*AU240908 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0725 GMT 24 Dec 87*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/12/1987—In the presence of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the sixth session of the ninth [legislature of the] Grand National Assembly resumed works in plenum in the morning of December 24.

The deputies are going to endorse the bills in the agenda of the session.

### Oprea Meets With SED's Stoph, Views Relations

*AU231905 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Text] Berlin, AGERPRES, December 23, 1987—Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SED, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, received Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister of Romania, who was in Berlin for the working meeting of the chairmen for the two countries of the Joint Government Commission on Economic, Technological, and Scientific Collaboration Between Romania and the GDR.

In the interview occasioned a warm exchange of greetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker. Gheorghe Oprea had an interview with Guenter Mittag, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the SED.

During the interviews, emphasis was placed on the importance of the understandings reached by the two countries' leaders on the recent meeting in Bucharest, for the further deepening of specialization and cooperation in production, for the promotion of the economic relations and technological-scientific collaboration between Romania and the GDR.

### Spokesman Denounces Israeli 'Violence'

*AU221722 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 87 p 7*

[TANJUG report: "Yugoslavia's Anxiety"]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—"We are closely and anxiously following the latest development in events and the tense situation in the occupied territories on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in Gaza, as well as the violence to which the Israeli military and police organs have subjected the Palestinian population. As far as this is concerned, Yugoslavia most strongly condemns all these acts of violence and the pressure that the occupiers are bringing to bear on the innocent civilian population of these territories."

This was stated today by Ambassador Aleksandar Stanic, the official spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, in answer to a question from the TANJUG diplomatic editor on how the acts of violence which Israel is now carrying out against the Palestinian population in the occupied territories, are viewed, especially in light of the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Palestinian problem and the Middle East crisis in general.

Recently, Israeli organs have increasingly resorted to the use of armed force, which leads to loss of life among the Palestinians. The Israeli state's latest acts of violence against the Palestinian population are just one more example of the Israeli policy of force which has been continuously present in these areas since the June 1967 war. The Israeli authorities' practice of ill-treating and persecuting the Arab population and applying different forms of pressure is not a new one, Stanic said.

The present situation once again points to the necessity of making new efforts to find a just, universal, and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis, at the heart of which is the Palestinian question.

As far as the search for a solution to the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian question is concerned, Yugoslavia believes—as it has already emphasized many times—that an international conference is the most realistic way of achieving a peaceful and just solution through negotiations. It is clear that such acts of violence and brutal use of force only delay the hour when a solution can be reached. They damage and break otherwise thin threads which have led to the creation of mutual trust, and, therefore, the orientation of both peoples toward finding such solutions, a prerequisite for which is the realization of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, said the official spokesman of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

### FRG Treatment of Ship Crew 'Unusually Sharp'

*LD241101 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 24 Dec 87*

[Text] Bonn, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Embassy in Bonn has expressed dissatisfaction to the West German Foreign Ministry over the "unusually sharp treatment" on the part of the authorities in Bavaria of the crew of the "Velebit" ship from the Yugoslav river fleet. In a statement issued today, the embassy also draws attention to the established legal procedure toward foreign ship crews under which only the ship's captain is detained and interrogated and not the entire crew as was the case with the "Velebit."

The sole explanation for the incident lies in the prolonged attempts by Loyds of Bavaria to prevent the Yugoslav river fleet from using the German section of the Danube for transporting goods, the statement says. The Foreign Ministry representative has promised to request and look into the report about the incident from the authorities in Bavaria and to inform the embassy about it.

### Increase in Unemployment Figures Noted

*LD231722 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—At the end of October there were 1,090,800 unemployed on the records of the employment agencies. This category of citizens has increased by 0.2 percent over the past year.

The highest growth of unemployment was recorded in Slovenia (15 percent), while Vojvodina had the best balance (a drop of 7 percent).

The employment agencies believe that that these figures do not reflect real proportions of unemployment. It is estimated that the people registered as looking for employment are around 90 percent of those fully unemployed.

It is said, Kosovo is the only federal unity where the number of registered unemployed fully corresponds to the real number of unemployed. In other parts of the country by the end of the first quarter of the next year it should be cleared up how many of those registered as unemployed satisfy the social contract criteria on employment in Yugoslavia; and then the federation of the communities for employment should know the real unemployment situation.

### Kosovo Council Debates Constitutional Changes

*LD232017 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Text] Pristina, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—In our view the forthcoming constitutional changes should enhance the status of the SR of Serbia as an entity but without affecting the existing rights enjoyed by the provinces,

Svetislav Dolasevic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, stressed addressing members of the Kosovo Council. We also think that during the current phase in constitutional changes outstanding issues must be resolved and hope that this will be achieved through increased efforts, because it is in no one's interest to have a constitutional crisis in the republic.

Dolasevic informed the members of the Council of Kosovo that in 1 month the work would be completed on the amendments to the province's Constitution. The changes will be coordinated with the changes in the Federal Constitution and that of the SR of Serbia. In reference to the Republic's Constitution Dolasevic noted that most issues have already been harmonized, but that there are a number of points with which the provincial assembly cannot agree. The view which is frequently heard in the public, to the effect that the provinces are blocking the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, are wrong, Dolasevic added.

Rahman Morina spoke about the political-security situation. He warned of the continued activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists. He went on to say that this year in Podujevo and Kacanik two hostile groups were uncovered involved in the activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. Criminal proceedings are underway against 11 members of these groups. Members of the illegal group from Podujevo were involved in 30 incidents of writing hostile slogans in Podujevo and Pristina. They were also found to possess a considerable amount of firearms and propaganda material.

Rahman Morina also drew attention to the hostile activity on the part of Albanian emigres in West European countries, saying that this year alone these people have organized more than 10 anti-Yugoslav demonstrations in which 1,800 people took part.

The Kosovo provincial internal affairs secretary also warned of the activity by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities and, as he put it, of their collusion with the bourgeois right and nationalist-oriented clergy. This collusion came to prominence during the recent gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. According to Morina in the period of 15-23 October alone there were 23 protest meetings with 18,000 people of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality taking part. Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, briefed the council members on the economic situation. He stressed the difficult situation in the economy of this part of the SR of Serbia.

Bringing the debate to a conclusion, Bajram Seljani, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, said that after the ninth LCY Central Committee session the majority of people in Kosovo have displayed a higher degree of readiness and determination to work toward stabilizing the political situation. In reference to the changes in the constitution of the SR of Serbia Seljani called for a democratic and constructive debate, adding that threats and pressures are not appropriate instruments for settling controversial issues and for seeking joint solutions.